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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to explore the factors that have impact on the individual freedom and autonomy of academics in the changing university climate. Through the development of an ideal typology of educational researchers, based on the work of Max Weber, the study reveals the ways in which individuals within these changing institutions make decisions about their work and perceive themselves as part of the larger academic culture. A total of 47 faculty members from 2 schools of education and 3 administrators participated in semi-structured interviews that covered a wide range of issues. From their discussions of motivations toward particular lines of research, a typology of educational researchers was developed. Various constraints of the tenure process are also discussed. Considering types of practice and types of constraint, the developed typology classified researchers as: Type 1, the field-driven, self-ruled researcher; Type 2, the agenda-driven, self-ruled researcher; Type 3, the agenda-driven, externally ruled researcher; and Type 4, the field-driven, externally ruled researcher. An appendix contains the faculty interview guide. (Contains 39 references.) (SLD)

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THE FREEDOMS AND LIMITS OF TENURE: AN IDEAL TYPOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCHERS

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Introduction

In a consideration of the idea of freedom, educational philosopher John Dewey (1938) argues that

> The commonest mistake made about freedom is, I think, to identify it with freedom of movement, or with the external or physical side of activity. Now, this external and physical side of activity cannot be separated from the internal side of activity; from freedom of thought, desire, and purpose" (p. 61).

As will become clear from the discussion that follows, this thinking applies to academic freedom, which is not only embodied in official documents, but also – and perhaps more importantly – in the minds of those whose work it is meant to protect. The perceptions faculty members have of their autonomy in their work is as real and as important as university policy. As such, this research does not limit its understanding of academic freedom to the policy perspective. It does not take for granted that a standing, written policy can protect academic researchers from influence and constraint. On the contrary, it supposes that while the policy of academic freedom is both important and necessary, it may not be sufficient. Instead, the idea of academic freedom must be understood in the way it is experienced – at an individual level that accounts for both the subtle and overt pressures that serve to shape, limit, and create autonomy.

There is currently very little research that looks beyond a policy definition of academic freedom toward a greater understanding of whether or not our professoriate sees itself as truly autonomous. Too frequently, faculty members' own perceptions of their freedom and autonomy are excluded from these discussions. Derived from detailed interviews with the education faculties at two research universities, the findings of this study are intended to contribute to that dearth by providing a greater understanding (at this individual level) of the variety of factors that impact the individual freedom and autonomy of academics in the changing university. Through the development of an ideal typology – based on the work of Max Weber – it reveals the ways in which individuals within these changing institutions make decisions about their work and perceive themselves as part of the larger academic culture.

Research on Faculty Members: A Review of Relevant Literature

There is a small but growing qualitative scholarship that examines faculty members' perceptions, culture, and work. A recent example from Torres (1998) presents the in-depth personal biographies of eleven critical academic educators. Through informal, candid conversations, we are offered a rare glimpse into the "gut feelings" and "intellectual preoccupations" (p.10) of a select group of professors. Although not a research project in the formal sense, it is nevertheless an important contribution to the understanding of the work and lives of university faculty members.

On a larger scale, Tierney and Bensimon (1996) examine the academic socialization process with specific attention to tenure. Through interviews with over 200 assistant professors at 12 U.S. colleges and universities, the researchers present a strong argument for an overhaul of the tenure system. They argue that faculty members with diverse or "controversial" viewpoints are too often forced either to adapt to more mainstream approaches in their departments (thereby potentially compromising their own values and beliefs), or to opt out of the current system (leaving the university without the benefit of faculty members who offer viewpoints counter to the mainstream).

The work of Tierney and Bensimon stands out in the faculty development literature because most work in this area either examines faculty members as a homogenous group or looks at only one variable, such as academic rank or discipline. Corcoran and Clark (1984), for example, examined the socialization patterns of research faculty across three faculty generations (i.e., according to when they began their academic careers). Kirk and Todd-Mancillas (1991) looked exclusively at the socialization of graduate students into the academic profession. Rosch and Reich (1996) focused their efforts on a comparison of new faculty members in three different departments. Rare are the studies that focus in on a single department in order to understand the various ways in which faculty members of different rank, gender, ethnicity, race, and class experience their work lives.

Historically, large quantitative studies have provided the most thorough insights into the perceptions that university professors have of academic freedom. Survey research that addresses far-reaching issues such as political views, professional backgrounds, teaching loads, views on students, and personal goals, for example, has also included questions specifically related to issues of academic freedom. For instance, Helen S. Astin, et al. (1997), in a national survey of over 33,000 full-time college and university professors, find that 69.8% of faculty members cite autonomy as a very important reason for pursuing academic careers. Similarly, 78.8% of the same sample say intellectual freedom was a very important factor. Although other research echoes this finding that faculty members value academic freedom (Bowen and Schuster, 1986; Clark 1987; Ladd and Lipset, 1977; Lazarsfeld and Theilens, 1958), the issue is rarely investigated beyond this limited level. Although we know that perceptions of academic freedom vary by length of time in the academic field (Wences and Abramson, 1971), by type of institution (Goldblatt, 1967; Lazarsfeld and Theilens, 1958), and by discipline (Lewis, 1966), we actually know very little about what these perceptions are.

A welcome exception to this scarcity of qualitative research is Burton Clark's 1987 study of 170 professors from six different disciplines. From in-depth interviews with these faculty members, Clark concludes that the academic profession is actually "a profession consisting of many professions" (p. xv) because of the great degree of diversity across disciplines. Although the study adds qualitative data to our somewhat limited understanding of faculty members' perceptions

of academic freedom and autonomy, the variance in individual thinking renders the study too broad in scope to offer real insight. Indeed, faculty members' perceptions of these issues deserve much more careful and focused study, particularly given the very complexity of the concept itself.

Methodology and Research Sample

The issues outlined above are particularly important to investigate in graduate schools of education. Through both the training of our nation's teachers and the development of new and critical thinking on American education, these university departments are of vital consequence to the nation's future. The work lives of educational researchers must be carefully understood, particularly vis-à-vis their roles as intellectuals, contributing to the greater social good.

This research took place at the education programs at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and Stanford University. These departments are similar in that they are both housed within large research universities and are well-respected education programs. At the same time, the universities and departments[1] have many important contrasts: UCLA, although somewhat buffered by its Westwood environs, is an urban university. Stanford University, on the other hand, is located in suburban Palo Alto, about 40 miles from San Francisco. UCLA's education program is somewhat bigger than Stanford's is, with a larger faculty and nearly twice the enrolled students. UCLA's department is also housed within a two-department school – the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies – arguably increasing its visibility on campus. Perhaps most importantly, however, UCLA is part of California's public system of higher education, while Stanford is a private university.

For recruitment purposes, all ladder and emeriti faculty members included in lists supplied by each department were initially contacted with a letter describing the study. A follow-up telephone call or e-mail was used to determine each individual's interest in participating and to arrange a time for an interview. A total of 47 faculty members and three administrators participated in 40- to 90-minute semi-structured interviews. The demographic breakdown of respondents was roughly similar to the overall breakdown of each department, largely due to the good response rates at both schools (58% at UCLA; 44% at Stanford). The most notable exception is found in the small number of female faculty members at Stanford who participated. Table 1 describes the demographics of each department as well as of the final faculty sample.

Table 1 Ladder Faculty and Faculty Sample at Each Research Site					
	ALL LADDER FACULTY (1998-99 Academic Year)		FACULTY RESEARCH SAMPLE		
	UCLA (n=48)	Stanford (n=40)	UCLA (n=28)	Stanford (n=19)	Total (n=47)
Male	27 (56%)	30 (75%)	13 (46%)	17 (90%)	30 (36%)
Female	21 (44%)	10 (25%)	15 (54%)	2 (10%)	17 (36%)
White	38 (79%)	32 (80%)	20 (71%)	15 (79%)	35 (74%)
Non-White[2]	10 (21%)	8 (20%)	8 (29%)	4 (21%)	12 (26%)
Full Professor	31 (65%)	32 (80%)	15 (54%)	14 (74%)	29 (62%)
Associate Professor	10 (21%)	3 (8%)	4 (14%)	0 (0%)	4 (9%)
Assistant Professor	7 (15%)	5 (13%)	5 (18%)	3 (16%)	8 (17%)
Professor Emeritus[3]	n/a	n/a	4 (14%)	2 (11%)	6 (13%)

Another important variable that must be considered in this analysis is the length of time that each respondent has been in his or her academic career. The faculty members at Stanford are somewhat older[4] and seniority and professional rank have the potential to contribute to autonomy or minimize constraint. Table 2 illustrates the differences between the UCLA and Stanford education faculties on this important issue.

Table 2 Length of Time Since Earning Doctorate and Receiving Tenure		
Mean number of years since...	UCLA (n=28)	Stanford University (n=19)
Receiving Doctoral Degree	22.4 years	29.7 years
Tenure Was Awarded[5]	17.8 years	28.5 years

Following the faculty interviews at both institutions, the current Dean of each department was interviewed. Because UCLA was undergoing a significant change in leadership, the sample also includes the school's previous Dean. These interviews addressed the study issues outlined in this proposal, as well as additional issues that arose during faculty interviewing.

Consistent with the principles of case study research, the interviews with faculty members were semi-structured and free flowing, in order to allow for themes not previously anticipated by the researcher to emerge from the conversations. An interview protocol was used as a guide, however, ensuring that all study participants addressed at least roughly the same issues. This allowed for the interview responses to be compared across sites or tenure status (for example). (Please see Appendix I for a copy of the interview guide.)

In keeping with the grounded theory approach, an iterative process was used for data analysis. In other words, data were continuously reviewed and analyzed throughout the data

collection process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Once all interviews with UCLA faculty members and administrators were completed and transcribed, a preliminary framework for understanding the data was created. This was used in part to inform data collection at Stanford, the second of the two sites, although it was not finalized until all interviews (including those at Stanford) were complete.

Following the interviewing phase, the analysis process consisted of reading and re-reading interview transcripts and observational fieldnotes numerous times to develop a codebook containing analytic categories relevant to the research questions. These categories were then used to code all of the interviews and to sort responses.

Before turning to the results of this research, it is first necessary to outline the theoretical assumptions that have guided both the development and the understanding of this study. The following section addresses those issues.

Theoretical Framework

Individuals in Organizations

Despite the complexities inherent in defining "the university," some characteristics of universities are clear and distinct. Specifically, as social institutions, universities can easily be characterized as organizations situated in social environments – environments upon which they depend, not only for students and employees, but for resources as well. As such, it is possible to use organizational theory to characterize universities as "open systems" which, while separated from their environments by arbitrary boundaries, must interact with their environments to survive (Katz and Kahn, 1978).

On the whole, universities have traditionally had "buffers" to protect the internal processes from external influence (Mitchell, 1997). Consistent with the open systems model, however, they have had to adjust to environmental forces by "ingesting them or acquiring control over them" (Katz and Kahn, p. 24). And universities, like other social systems, have moved "towards incorporating within their boundaries the external resources essential to survival" (Katz and Kahn, p. 24). In other words, these boundaries are becoming more permeable.

Within open systems theory lies the principle of "loosely coupled" subgroups. The idea of "coupling" refers to the extent to which individuals and groups are interdependent and interact with each other (Lundberg, 1980). According to Weick (1982), within a loosely coupled system, individuals are interdependent (thereby making it a system), but the ties between people are weaker than in other systems (p. 676). More precisely, although the actions of two individuals or groups have a clear connection, each still has a distinct identity (Weick, 1976, p. 3). Hence, subgroups within an organization are able to respond to internal and external forces independently, facilitating small-scale change, but making large-scale change much more difficult (Weick, 1982, p. 674). This characterization easily applies to universities.

While the distinct identities of faculty members within universities may be beneficial for professional autonomy, they may also create situations with unequal power and control. In fact, it is not difficult to observe the varying degrees of autonomy that subgroups and individuals within universities have in their choices and actions (Iannello, 1992). Whether this power is related to professional rank, personal identity issues (such as gender, ethnicity, race) or academic department, different individuals and different groups have different levels of power in decision-making and agenda-setting.

The work of Pierre Bourdieu is particularly useful in understanding the role of the individual within the university because his concept of cultural capital "leaves room for individual biographies by taking into consideration variations in how individuals use (it)" (Lamont and Lareau, 1988, p. 163). Bourdieu uses the economic analogy of capital to explain social interactions, arguing that each individual possesses a particular amount (in various forms) which he or she may exchange or rely upon at any given time (Bourdieu, 1983, 1993; Lamont and Lareau, 1988). This theory of capital can be likened to a card game, where each player is in possession of a hand of cards, some more useful than others (Bourdieu, 1976). The hand that one is dealt is analogous to the various forms and amounts of capital. For the professor, capital takes many forms including academic credentials, publications and presentations, social networks and key contacts, membership in various committees, and professional rank (especially tenure status). Capital is not limited to professional characteristics, however, and personal characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality all have a part in determining the amount of any one type of capital possessed by an individual.

The way in which an individual is able to play those cards – i.e., the dispositions one possesses – is referred to by Bourdieu as "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977, 1993; Harker and May, 1993). It is this set of dispositions which can allow an individual to challenge (or choose to challenge) the changes that are taking place; the very ability to question the structure is one aspect of habitus. Likewise, however, it is these dispositions that may also prevent that very questioning, for if this tendency or ability to question is not present, the resistance will not take place. The applicability of habitus and capital to faculty members' decisions and perceptions will become clear through the presentation and analysis of the study data. First, an additional body of theory is also helpful in clarifying the ways in which individual dispositions and power influence choices: the work of Max Weber and his notion of the ideal type serves well in this respect.

Ideal Types

In elucidating the usefulness of the ideal type, Watkins (1952) notes that "One might improve one's appreciation of the shape of a roughly circular object by placing it over an accurate tracing of a circle" (p. 25). He uses this as an example to show that the absolutely perfect circle – rarely, if ever, appearing in nature – is an ideal type. What we call "circles" (our imperfect

examples) may be compared to this pure, extreme example in order to understand how and where those circles that we can observe deviate, providing us with a greater understanding of the observable and interpretable world. On the surface, it is an infinitely simple concept; at its heart, it is a tremendously useful sociological tool – one, which will be employed to great benefit in the discussion that follows. But first, a more thorough and careful examination of Weber's ideas is required.

According to Weber, social scientists are interested in "characteristic traits, their cultural significance, and their meaningful interrelationships, as defined by the problem at hand" (Hekman, 1983, p. 25). Weber points to his ideal type as the appropriate tool for illuminating these traits:

> An ideal type is formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found anywhere in reality. It is a *utopia* (Weber, 1949, p. 90, emphasis in original).

In other words, the construction of an ideal type involves bringing together a diverse set of data, synthesizing these data into an analytical construct, and emphasizing the most salient aspects for the purposes of comparison. As such, the ideal type is somewhat of an exaggeration and is not likely to be found "as is" in society. Rather, it is meant to accentuate a type in its purest and strongest form. It is intended to serve as an ideal, an absolute, against which actual cases may be compared.

Weber took great pains to emphasize what ideal types are not. For instance, they are not ideal in any value sense. They are not the "best" or even necessarily preferable. They are ideal in the sense that they are pure of form (be it good or bad in the viewer's eye). His use of the term "ideally typical" is perhaps more illuminating because it stresses the typical over the ideal. Moreover, ideal types are not hypotheses. Instead, they may (and should) offer guidance to the construction of hypotheses (Weber, 1949, p. 90). Nefzger (1965) makes this point well:

> Weber did not have any intention of testing ideal-types as hypotheses are tested. ... Since they are pure types, it is never expected that the actual entities will correspond wholly with them. ... The ideal-type is heuristic, then, in that it will put actual instances in relief, indicating certain relationships and suggesting hypotheses. The explanations for the relationships can then be investigated (Nefzger, 1965, p. 171).

Used in this way, the ideal type is an excellent tool for describing qualitative data and hypothesizing about the significance and implications of the data. Ideal types do not seek to define one individual, nor do they seek to represent the sum total of reality. There is no test of "validity" with ideal types – they are valid only to the extent that they explain what they seek to explain (Hekman, p. 36). In the context of this research, the ideal type provides a way for the researcher to synthesize observations (e.g., data collected through interviews), to create a comprehensive yardstick that serves to illustrate and describe the "reality" of the situation in question.

Motivation, Autonomy and Constraint in the Research Process

The interviews in which the respondents of this study participated covered a wide range of issues, from personal background to ideas about the role of the university in society. In this section includes descriptions of the responses to those questions that are relevant to the ideal typology developed here. Specifically, the sections that follow, describe the motivations that educational researchers have for pursuing particular lines of research, as well as the limitations they see on the decisions that they make. This discussion will then serve as the basis for the development of an ideal typology of educational researchers, which is described in a later section.[6]

Research as Lived Experience: The Construction of the Research Agenda

Perhaps the strongest factor guiding the development of these professors' research agendas is their hope that the work they do will have an impact on education or society more broadly. Almost half of those that participated described the ways in which this desire for practical relevance drives the choices they make about what they do or do not study. An assistant professor at Stanford put it quite simply: "If nothing's going to improve because of the work you do, why do it?" Another assistant professor echoed this sentiment, noting that when she thinks about topics to pursue as a researcher,

> The most important thing to me is importance. I'm really concerned if they're going to be important to the teaching community and to the schools. I don't really want to research things that aren't important and accessible to teachers.

A UCLA associate professor traced his commitment to issues of social justice to his high school years, telling me:

> When I graduated from high school in 1968... the civil rights movement was going very strong in the United States, as well as the anti-war movement, so at least those two movements really had an impact on me as a young person. ... So when I thought about doing research and thought about what I was going to do when I got out of college, I always had a sense that I would do something that would be involved in some way, shape or form around social justice.

In fact, about a fourth of the respondents (and more than half of the faculty members of color who participated) talked about the ways in which their own personal experience guides the decisions they make about what they study.

Faculty members from both sites and across sub-groups talked about the satisfaction they derive from working with their graduate students and the integral part that other individuals (mentors, colleagues) play in developing and driving the respondents' research agendas. For example, an assistant professor at UCLA said, "People influence me even when they're not trying to, by talking about research and commenting and arguing and criticizing and reacting to things." While all of the comments related to working with students came from associate, full and emeriti professors, assistant professors were more inclined to discuss their mentors or other colleagues. This split clearly reflects the different career stages of the respondents.

In contrast to the other prevalent categories of response, comments about the ways in which simple serendipity drives research choices were relatively common. One third of the overall sample – mostly full or emeriti professors – made a comment falling into this category. For example, one Stanford professor described a project he worked on early in his career when a colleague proposed a research agenda and "I said yes. Looking back it is hard for me to say exactly why." Another told an amusing story of when he "quite literally stubbed my toe on a box ... and I looked down to curse at it and it turned out to be a box full of history of things (and) here was all this wonderful research done for me. ... So serendipity – you've got to keep your eyes open for that." Several faculty members went so far as to describe themselves as opportunists. One professor at Stanford called himself "a lucky person. I rarely had to go after anything consciously. I never planned, as far as I know. Very opportunistic. Take advantage of what comes up." A professor emeritus at UCLA told me that he prefers to "see what's already going on" and then "piggy back" onto it.

Simultaneously with these various motivations for pursuing particular lines of inquiry, researchers experience varying levels of autonomy and constraint in what they are actually able to achieve. These pressures most often related to tenure status and the tenure process, and are described in the next section.

Tenure: A Justifiable Means?

The faculty members in this sample who have already gone through the tenure process had quite varied experiences to report. Some (mostly older full and emeriti professors) told me that they had an "easy" time. In sharp contrast, however, younger full professors and more recently tenured associate and full professors remembered their experiences less fondly. One UCLA professor told me it was "terrifying" to think of not getting tenure. An associate professor recalling her own tenure experience told me that "you're more anxious before tenure. You just don't know what it's going to take. And you're working all the time. And you're just hoping you've chosen an area that's going to be okay and that you're going to make it."

Several professors – mostly at UCLA, and all women – told me that they made peace with the possibility that they might not earn tenure. Commitment to their research choices and an ability to do the work they deemed important and about which they had a passion was more important to them than gaining professional stature. One newly tenured professor, for instance, said that she has "this really strong streak" and that she knew there were other things she could do with her life if she was ultimately denied tenure.

Even those who seemed resigned to whatever lay ahead still expressed fears and were aware of pressures. And it is these pressures associated with the path toward tenure that emerged as the strongest and most steadfast constraint in the lives of these educational researchers. The specific ways that the constraints of the tenure process manifest themselves are more carefully examined in the next section.

Constraints of the Tenure Process

For many, there is confusion about what is valued in the tenure process. For instance, a beginning assistant professor at Stanford told me that while she hopes to earn tenure and she recognizes that her department has "high expectations" of her, she really is not sure of precisely what is expected. She explained that "Countless times I've said to people 'I don't know if I'm going to get tenure' and they've said 'No, no, you'll be fine, you'll get tenure, of course you'll get tenure.' And I don't really know what you have to do." Similarly, a full professor who counseled assistant professors at UCLA while serving in an administrative role told me that those with whom she spoke "had all these crazy ideas in their head" about what was expected of them on the tenure track. And while she acknowledged the frustration that this confusion can cause, she argued that the process is worthwhile if you "know the rules of the game." Knowing the rules of the game comes with its own difficulties, however.

A UCLA assistant professor, for instance, described earning tenure as needing to fit "into a perfect mold." Many non-tenured faculty members indicated they believe these expectations will not change until they receive tenure. As one assistant professor explained, she and her colleagues are expected to "jump through particular hoops and prove certain things." In her opinion, this process ultimately robs her of some of her autonomy, as she concerns herself with pleasing colleagues rather than with her own more immediate priorities.

Faculty members in both departments are acutely aware of the importance of research in the tenure review process. Often this means doing research in very particular areas. For example, an assistant professor at Stanford explained that:

> We know there is a box and we know there are topics outside the box. Places like Stanford and other large universities, they've become famous for being right on the edge of the box. You don't want to get too far outside the box unless you are comfortably tenured. I think that's obvious.

Similarly, another explained that "it's kind of a dilemma that typically younger faculty members are more likely to want to do something more innovative ... But with the pressure to do certain research or so much research, it's hard to make the time to do that." And an assistant professor at UCLA who had just finished putting together his dossier for tenure review explained how he realized after the fact the ways in which the tenure process affected his work:

> I realize that inadvertently I began to shape some of my work in accordance to some of the expectations that I felt the university had for me. And that was not a conscious decision. It just happened. ... It was probably because I felt that before I can actually get tenure, I need to prove that I can really do stuff ... based on paradigms that are appreciated and valued. And I didn't think about this consciously.

As important as the actual process of research is the product – the published article or book. Nontenured faculty members are aware that they must publish certain numbers of articles if they want to be granted tenure. The consequence, unfortunately, is that some lines of inquiry are deemed

not researchable by the untenured professor, simply by virtue of the fact that they might be too time consuming or might not yield results quickly enough. What is also clear to faculty members who are working toward tenure is that articles cannot be published in just any journal: Only particular journals are acceptable to each subdiscipline. These issues are particularly important for faculty members of color, many of whom reported that there are journals which deal specifically with ethnic and racial minority issues that are not considered appropriate or worthwhile within their subdisciplines.

Individual and Organizational Constraints

There are additional constraints that compound the pressures of working toward tenure. These exist for faculty members at all levels, but are felt most acutely by nontenured faculty members. Specifically, almost half of the respondents – two thirds of the assistant and associate professors – complained of the time pressures they felt and the ways in which those pressures affect their research. One professor at UCLA lamented that "we're all going to die of overwork," calling time a "major, major issue." An assistant professor partially attributed her lack of time to the "kind of person" she is, and her desire to accomplish everything:

> In my job now I feel like I've got at least six different jobs, and trying to balance those different jobs and different responsibilities for me because it gets very complicated, so whether it's the teaching that I need to do and trying to do a really good job at my teaching at the same time as I'm trying to carry out my research agenda, is difficult.

These researchers described various ways of responding to time constraints, often in relation to the power they feel they have to control their own time. For example, an assistant professor at Stanford expressed his frustration that when he was hired, he was given the impression that his teaching load would be light and he would have "oceans of empty time to formulate research proposals. And it hasn't been like that at all." He went on to tell me how he is struggling with just how to organize his time to be able to conduct more research. In contrast, a Stanford professor emeritus offered a perspective at the other end of the career ladder, explaining that at a certain point he simply decided he had "served my time. ... I was running between the department of anthropology and the school of education so much to attend [meetings] that I hardly had time to think about anything else. So I just quit."

Also common were remarks about feeling obliged to do or be responsible for particular types of research, either because it was the work the researcher was hired to do, because he or she was the only "resident expert," or because a higher ranking professor or administrator made a request. Not surprisingly, these comments most often came from assistant and associate professors, and where they did not, they came from full professors who recalled earlier points in their careers.

Beyond problems of time and professional obligation, however, lie more politically charged issues such as resistance to various bodies of research or personal identity factors that compel a researcher toward a particular type or field of research. Over one third of the respondents – in particular, female faculty members, faculty members of color, and those who study students of color – described the resistance they have encountered in their work and the ways in which they have had to combat that often very subtle resistance.

The form that this resistance takes is often difficult to discern. Respondents described their colleagues as "polite" and "civil," noting that "you hardly notice they are being antagonistic." One UCLA professor attributed this to the "professional respect" that others have for their colleagues. Nevertheless, these professors told me they realized the effect these quiet pressures could have on their research. As one associate professor at UCLA put it:

> It's not outright that people will tell you can't do this work here. That rarely happens. ... It's much more subtle. I think what people will tell you is that if you're going to continue this line of research, don't expect to get tenure. If you're going to continue this line of research, don't expect to be promoted to full professor. If you're going to do this type of research, you probably shouldn't be at a place like UCLA, or what are sort of traditional institutions. You might want to try something else, or some other place. .... And I've been told that in no uncertain terms while I've been here.

Many of the professors who told me that their work is not highly regarded by their colleagues also told me that they, in response, have simply pursued it anyway. This response was understandably more likely to come from associate, full and emeriti professors. As one Stanford professor put it, "I'm old enough to kick them around now. They don't bother me." Another referred to himself as "a bad boy around here," but told me simply, "It's who I am. I'm a social critic. That's the way it is."

Several professors told me about the very careful ways in which they present work they consider to be politically charged, such as the respondent who says he works to "figure out ways to say [things] to provoke … without stirring up a hornets' nest." In addition to being generally younger faculty members, professors who struggle constantly to frame their work in a "more acceptable" way also tend either to be faculty members of color, female faculty members, or faculty members who do work on populations of color. And just as they are vigilantly aware of who they are speaking to when they present their research, they are also painfully aware of who is judging them. As such, many find that in order to carry out the work they have chosen, they must make it "air tight," resistant to criticism or reproach. For some, this simply means making sure that the quality of their work is, in general, superior. Others find the only solution is to do twice as much research as their colleagues. Clearly, whatever the specific approach, these researchers are constrained by what they have determined is a higher standard, brought about by the negative perception of their research areas or their work in general.

An Ideal Typology of Educational Researchers

The ideal typology presented in this paper is organized around two broad themes: practice and constraint.[7] More precisely, using the categories developed during the coding phase of the research, these data first informed the development of four ideally typical categories of educational researchers: Field-Driven and Agenda-Driven (to stress variations in career motivation and action) and Self-Ruled and Externally-Ruled (to emphasize differing levels of autonomy and constraint).

The usefulness of these isolated ideal types is limited, however, since any researcher invariably experiences both issues – motivation and control – in his or her work life. These factors must be understood in combination rather than in isolation. Therefore, following the description of each separate ideal type, is a discussion of the various ways in which they intersect to form distinct comprehensive types of educational researchers.

The empirical findings presented in the last section will serve to inform the creation of this ideal typology. Consistent with the concept of the ideal type, however, it is not being argued that these ideal types were observed in pure form in the data (nor that they might be found elsewhere in this pure form, for that matter). The ideal type is intended as a heuristic. The categories presented here – like ideal types in general – are exaggerations of actual behavior that will serve to reveal the much more complex ways in which individuals experience their everyday lives.

Ideal Types of Practice

As is evident from the data presented in the previous section, educational researchers have varied motivations and justifications for the actions that they choose to take. The reasons they have for pursing academic careers and particular lines of research are often quite distinct. Some are driven largely by their fields, remaining open to the shifts and changes within those fields and choosing their projects accordingly. Others focus on particular external goals, which they believe may be attained through research. These ideal types of researchers have been labeled "field-driven" and "agenda-driven," respectively.[8]

The Field-Driven Educational Researcher

The field-driven educational researcher is primarily guided by an intellectual or philosophical interest in the field of education. He[9] pursues topics within the limits of what is acceptable to other members of his field. He has an interest in understanding a particular phenomenon, more so than in necessarily changing it. In this way his work is guided by pressures and limitations external to himself.

In rare cases where he sees the need to change his course of study, the field-driven researcher will work within the existing and accepted paradigm. He is not inclined to challenge the existing order. If he does determine that change is necessary, he will approach the issue by working from a foundation of existing and widely valued research. His goal in changing is not to change the field or the social order, but more immediately to change himself.

The purpose of the university for the field-driven researcher is the advancement of knowledge simply for its own sake. Public service is less focal to his goals, although as a professor in an institution with an explicit service mission, he will participate in activities if he is asked. Most often, he sees his contribution to societal well being as implicit in the research that he does.

A field-driven researcher does perceive constraints in his work, but sees them not as obstacles, but as the necessary and inevitable boundaries of his field. He recognizes the required limits on what a researcher should or should not pursue, and does not think to challenge them. Instead, he believes that in order for knowledge to advance, he must operate within traditional and/or expected limits. In a sense, he allows the direction of the field to guide him to his next project. He will always have his ear out for funding opportunities that fall within what he has identified as his "field," and if funding happens to shift away from his current research, he will also shift in turn.

His field is not necessarily a broad, far-reaching discipline, however. It may be a narrow and particular sub-field, such as at-risk students from an educational psychology perspective. In other words, the field-driven researcher is not likely to do simply any study that comes across his desk. Guided by the boundaries of his field – however broad or narrow they may be – he leaves himself open to considering a variety of projects.

Tenure is an important hurdle for the field-driven researcher. He has chosen an academic career because it satisfies his intellectual curiosity. He recognizes that in order to continue in this career, he must work within the boundaries of the system. This includes earning tenure. As such, he will adapt his research interests and choices of projects in order to meet the expectations of the administration and senior faculty members.

The Agenda-Driven Educational Researcher

The agenda-driven researcher has chosen an academic career in order to bring about some sort of significant change in or through her field. Often, this desire for change has emerged from a personal experience or a personal commitment to what she sees as her community. The agenda-driven researcher perceives the university as a vehicle for bringing about this change, but her academic career is less important to her than the impact she makes in education, society or elsewhere. She has chosen this route because she believes it is where she has the greatest potential to make an impact. She would be willing to leave if she felt she could bring about a greater change in a different context.

If the agenda-driven researcher does not see the resources she needs available to her, she will work hard to create them. These resources may be material (as in funding or office space, for example) or they may be intellectual (as in existing research which supports her own). As such, her work will often fall outside of the accepted paradigm because she believes that by changing the way her issues are conceived of, she will eventually be able to implement real change.

For the agenda-driven researcher, the university exists in order to improve society, whether through teaching, research, or service of some sort. She completely rejects the idea of the "ivory tower," and is insistent that her work must be part of the larger social role of the university.

Because of her determination to bring about change, the agenda-driven researcher often meets with constraint. She is forced to struggle against conservative thinkers who disagree with her more radical ideas. She does not see these constraints as limitations, however. Instead, they are challenges that force her to think creatively about ways to overcome them. While she may recognize that in this way she is doing more work than her colleagues, it does not deter her from her personal agenda. And in keeping with her feelings about the university in general, the agenda-driven researcher is less concerned with tenure than with maintaining a vehicle for the pursuit of her goals. As such, even though she may be aware of what she would need to do to guarantee that she earn tenure, she will not stray from her work as long as she believes it contributes to social change.

Ideal Types of Constraint

As with the various motivations that educational researchers have for pursuing their chosen careers, there are differences in the amount and types of constraint they experience or perceive. Specifically, in an ideally typical sense, some researchers perceive no constraints at all and are guided simply by their own instincts and ideas. These are labeled "self-ruled" researchers. In contrast, there are faculty members who are extremely aware of various constraints, be they financial, administrative, logistical, etc. These researchers are described as "externally-ruled."

The Self-Ruled Educational Researcher

The self-ruled researcher pursues projects and topics that are either of interest to him or that he deems necessary to achieve his goals. He may perceive constraints but does not allow them to have any impact on the choices he makes about his research. He may or may not work within existing paradigms as he pursues his line of inquiry; he does not base his choice to do one or the other on any anticipated or perceived resistance. Instead, as noted above, it is based on his own scholarly judgment.

For the self-ruled researcher, the university is a place for free thinking. Academic freedom is taken for granted, if considered at all. The ultimate goals of the thinking that the self-ruled researcher does as a player in the university are less germane to him than the fact that he has the ability to do the thinking in the first place. The university is a space and a resource for facilitating the thinking of the self-ruled researcher, but it does not contribute to it beyond whatever aspects he chooses to take away from it.

The chosen field or sub-discipline of the self-ruled researcher is merely incidental to his work. He does not feel limited by the expectations or traditions of it, and would pursue the research that he believes is necessary, important, or interesting whether it fell within the traditional

boundaries of the field or not. The self-ruled researcher may even do work outside of the field of education if he decides it is useful or of interest.

The Externally-Ruled Educational Researcher

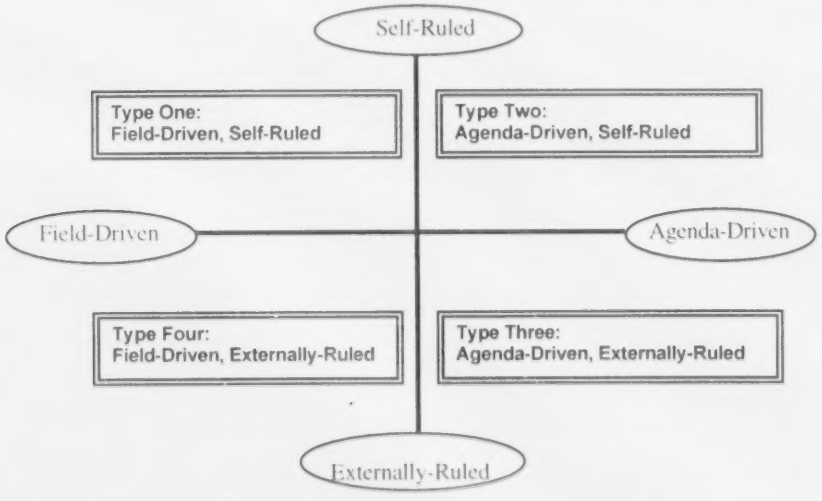
A glut of constraints is readily discernible to the externally-ruled researcher. She is constantly aware of the expectations that the university, her department, her field, and her colleagues have of her. She works hard to live up to those expectations, believing that unless she does, she will be unable to continue her academic career. As such, her decisions about her work are dictated by her administrators, colleagues, and the field in which she works. The relative weight that each carries in influencing her decisions is directly related to the degree of influence she believes each has on her future as an academic researcher.

The externally-ruled researcher is, with few exceptions, confined to traditional and accepted paradigms in her work. She may venture beyond this type of work if she is encouraged to do so by a mentor or administrator. In order for that to happen, however, she would have to perceive the benefits of taking that risk as greater than the potential cost. For example, she might take a risk if she recognized that the funding opportunities were greater in another field, and she became aware of a pressure to obtain more funding. Whatever the case, she would have to respect the voice and authority of the individual or group that encouraged her to take her work in that direction.

The Formulation of Comprehensive Ideal Types

Any social actor must contend with both motivation and constraint in combination, not separately. For that reason, the ideal types developed in the previous section must be brought to a more concrete level by exploring the ways in which they interact. Figure 1 shows the four primary ways in which the ideal types of motivation and constraint relate to one another.

Figure 1
The Intersections between Motivation and Control



Each of the quadrants above represents a different intersection between motivation and control and hence a different ideally typical educational researcher. To be more specific, the ideal type of motivation and the ideal type of constraint with which any researcher most identifies will affect how she relates to her research. For example, an educational researcher who is self-ruled and agenda-driven does not perceive constraints and her actions are guided (or motivated) by an intrinsic sense of what should be done. As such, a researcher of this type (Type Two) experiences a high degree of autonomy. In contrast, researchers of Type Four are highly constrained because those who are externally-ruled and driven by their fields not only contend with external limitations; they are also motivated by the developments in their field. Each of the quadrants is explored in more detail below.

Type One: The Field-Driven, Self-Ruled Researcher

The top left quadrant of Figure 1 represents the intersection between field-driven researchers and self-ruled researchers. As such, a Type One educational researcher, who is identified with both of these ideal types, will experience his professional life in terms of the issues related to each. More precisely, the great deal of autonomy that the field-driven, self-ruled researcher feels allows him to choose research projects based on whatever criteria he deems important. Because he is also a field-driven researcher, however, his freedom is limited to some extent. He is necessarily guided by the direction of his field, and does not make choices beyond the accepted paradigms of that field. So while he may believe himself to be completely autonomous, his choices do not entirely reflect his own thinking and beliefs.

A professor who may most easily be classified as field-driven and self-ruled is one who is further along in his career, with tenure and all of the advantages that accompany it. Specifically, as he climbs the career ladder, a Type One researcher also accumulates more of the various forms of cultural capital available to the university scholar. By establishing himself in his field and publishing articles (preferably in respected journals), the more senior professor has more control over his life than his colleagues who are just beginning their careers. He is able to make decisions guided by his own interests and sense of what is important, rather than by the influences of his colleagues.

At the same time, since he has spent more time surrounded by his colleagues, he has become a true member of this community of scholars. The interaction between the Type One researcher and his colleagues is bi-directional: as he moves through his academic career, he is inevitably socialized to the ways of thinking that are common to his fields. As Bourdieu would say, his habitus has been continually formed in relation to his colleagues, and as a result, the decisions that he makes are increasingly guided by the direction that the field takes. But at the same time that he has gained influence in his field, he may also be guiding the field itself. So what appears to be influence <u>from</u> the field might also be understood as influence <u>on</u> the field.

The Type One researcher can easily be compared with the scholars at Stanford who participated in this research (many of whom were farther along in their careers than other respondents). With the stated goal of driving the field of educational research, their agendas are closely tied to the directions of their fields. So while they may, in some ways, be influenced by the turns that their fields take, as agenda-setters themselves, they may also be bringing about those turns. Moreover, because of the prestige and resources of the institution, these professors see themselves as highly autonomous. Thus, on both accounts they often fall within this quadrant.[10]

Finally, it is important to stress that the Type One researcher, as a self-ruled researcher, has a choice about the work that he does. He is not restricted in his choices, even if he ultimately conforms to the traditions of his field. As such, if for some reason the work he does ceased to please him, he would pursue other lines of inquiry, whether they fell along the lines of the field or not.

Type Two: The Agenda-Driven, Self-Ruled Researcher

The agenda-driven, self-ruled researcher does not necessarily adhere to the norms of her field. Instead, she is driven by a specific agenda, and whether her research remains within the boundaries of her chosen sub-field or not is irrelevant. The complete autonomy she feels in making decisions about her research allows her to pursue her research ardently, without concern for the constraints of her field. As noted above, the researcher who most closely identifies with Type Two has the greatest amount of autonomy.

The combination of self-ruled and agenda-driven found in the Type Two researcher was quite uncommon in the data collected for this research. The rarity of this mixture of idealism and freedom is perhaps best explained by examining each of the qualities separately. Specifically, the autonomy of the self-ruled researcher was most frequently possessed by older, tenured professors; the conviction of the agenda-driven researcher was most often evident in either untenured professors or faculty members of color, neither of whom were likely to have power on par with senior professors. More precisely, faculty members at the beginnings of their careers typically have not yet had the opportunity to accumulate the resources (financial resources or cultural capital, for example) that would provide them with the autonomy characteristic of a self-ruled researcher. Moreover, faculty members of color may face additional constraints (such as time and a sense of obligation) that further impede their ability to claim an autonomous space. As such, the agenda-driven researcher is unlikely to have the power possessed by the self-rule researcher.

Interestingly, the Type Two researcher is one who could most easily be perceived as in an "ivory tower." In other words, critics of the academy who complain that professors are agenda-driven and have too much control and freedom would be referring to this type of scholar. But the scarcity of this type of researcher in these data speaks volumes about the inability of faculty members to pursue topics with the sort of wild abandon of which they are so often accused.

Type Three: The Agenda-Driven, Externally-Ruled Researcher

Researchers who are motivated by a particular agenda for change may also be acutely aware of constraints placed on them by other individuals or by the organization. In such cases, they would be identified with Type Three, the agenda-driven, externally-ruled researcher. Under these circumstances, the researcher will pursue his chosen agenda, but only within the limits of what is acceptable or valued in the current system. In order to stick to this agenda – which may or may not fall in line with the agenda of the organization – he will work to discover ways to maneuver within the existing system. This system may consist of his immediate organization or it may extend to his field as a whole, encompassing professional associations or other academic departments, for example. Whatever the case, he will not rebel against the system in order to accomplish his goals. Instead he finds ways to survive within its pre-existing limitations.

The Type Three researcher is quite descriptive of the newer faculty member who typically has not established himself or accumulated the cultural capital necessary to claim autonomy in all situations. Moreover, the newer faculty member is often forced to prove himself as he struggles to establish or maintain his space for free-thinking. He is reliant on others much of the time, not only for guidance and advice, but also for resources. As he seeks and accepts this leadership, he is simultaneously constrained by it. The Type Three researcher is aware of the various expectations placed upon him by his administrators and more senior colleagues.

At the same time, perhaps because he is just beginning, or perhaps because he represents a new generation of the academy, the newer faculty member will describe more idealized notions of the potential impact of his work. In these data, this combination of strong motivation for change and greater constraint on the choices made was more characteristic of incoming faculty members than of those who began their academic careers ten or twenty years ago.

Faculty of color, in particular, tend to fall into this group, regardless of their professional rank. Their agendas are often driven by their own experiences of prejudice or marginalization. But because of the commitments they feel to their own ethnic or racial group, or because of concerns that they or their work might not be seen as valuable, these faculty members are often heavily constrained by their circumstances, and have to constantly prove themselves as worthy of their positions. Similarly, these challenges are also often faced by researchers who do work that is outside the mainstream. Not coincidentally, these faculty members also happen to be of color much of the time.

Type Four: The Field-Driven, Externally-Ruled Researcher

As noted above, the field-driven, externally-ruled researcher in quadrant four has the least amount of autonomy and faces the greatest amount of constraint. This researcher's agenda perfectly mirrors the agenda of the institution. She is guided not only by the accepted limits of her

field, but also by the traditions and norms of her institution and department. She allows her research agenda to be dictated by others, and does not venture beyond these boundaries.

Like the Type Two researcher, the Type Four researcher was rare in these data. Guided entirely by external forces and control, this type of researcher does not seem to fit the expected mold of the university scholar. The most obvious manifestation of a Type Four researcher would be the professor who only does outside consulting work. The work is conceived of by another person or group. While the general field in which the work falls may be aligned with the professor's own interest, this is often coincidental, and by virtue of doing the work for a fee, she loses a great deal (if not all) of her autonomy.

The rarity of the Type Four researcher is probably attributable to the fact that while there were some respondents who allowed themselves to be guided by the directions of their field, they tended to be older faculty members who also possessed greater power, and were therefore autonomous in their decisions. As such, these researchers did not meet this second criterion of this type – being controlled by external factors, rather than by self-guided decisions.

Significance of the Types

The two issues of motivation and constraint interact in very particular ways for these researchers. Interestingly, for those faculty members who have chosen to pursue the tenure track, constraint seems to be largely a function of the cultural capital that they have been able to accumulate (thus tying it closely to time in the profession). Motivation, on the other hand, appears to be less intricately connected. Instead, motivation may be an internal factor, related to a researcher's complete habitus and not just his or her identity as an educational researcher. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the convictions held by many faculty members of color, regardless of their position on the academic career ladder, that their work must have a positive impact on their own communities.

While there are variations and exceptions, the strongest trend is the identification of more senior professors with the field-driven, self-ruled ideal type in contrast to the identification of newer faculty members with the agenda-driven, externally-ruled ideal type. This tendency keeps researchers moving somewhere between complete autonomy and complete constraint, regardless of their current career stage. So while senior faculty members gain autonomy, they become more assimilated into their disciplines. And while younger faculty members are often driven by agendas for social change, they quite often don't have the same opportunities to pursue their desired research with the zeal that might be necessary for it to make an impact. Figure 2 illustrates this point.

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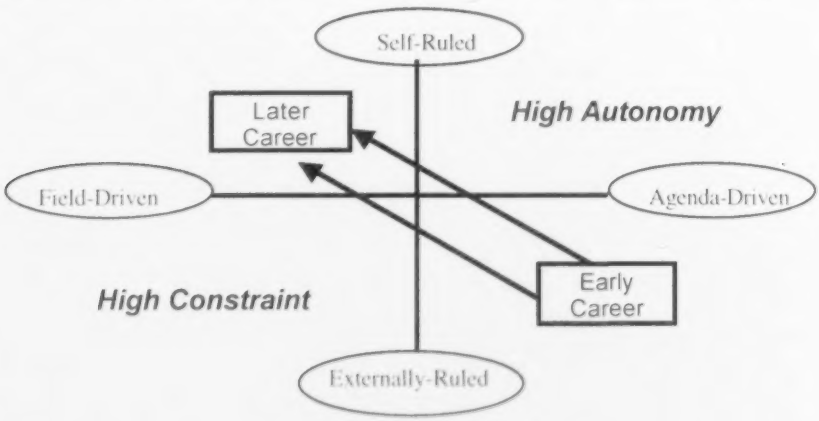
Figure 2
Placement of the Educational Researcher within an Ideal Typology



What this typology reveals – albeit in an arguably oversimplified way – are the ways in which personal characteristics and experiences merge with external constraints to shape the lived experiences of these educational researchers. It serves to highlight and clarify the distinctions between the amount of autonomy enjoyed by those with the power to assert it, and the relative constraint under which those with less power must make decisions about their research. It also calls attention to the importance of understanding the personal motivations of the researcher because these have a distinct influence on how he or she combats or accepts the obstacles that currently seem inevitable in an academic career.

Clearly these must be understood as extremes, considerations of each of these possibilities in its purest form. It is important to remember that most scholars do – and are likely to always – embody more than one of the ideal types presented here. Movement between types is far from uncommon. Take, for example, the senior professor who spent most of his career doing a particular type of work on evaluation. When his grandchild was born with Downs Syndrome, he quickly incorporated an entirely new agenda into his work. A man who might have been seen as a Type One researcher – set in his ways, but content to continue – was suddenly more like the independent Type Two researchers than he ever might have predicted.

So while it is not likely that one would observe any of these types in pure form, the typology nevertheless serves to highlight trends already reverberating through the halls of academe. It is clear that there are particular ways in which faculty members experience their work lives, and these variations are determined not only by the constraints that they face, but also by the individual

characteristics that they bring to the situation. There are important implications of these findings, and these are addressed in the section that follows.

Conclusions and Implications

Above all else, this research points to the complex and often subtle ways that researchers are constrained as they make decisions about their research agendas. While it has typically been assumed that tenure will protect academic freedom, that assumption has not historically accounted for the constraints that the very process of *obtaining* tenure creates. Policy definitions of academic freedom have traditionally focused on external pressures or explicit pressures from university administration. So while most faculty members told me that they believe their formal academic freedom is protected, they also described numerous pressures and constraints that influence the directions that their research takes.

The constraints that these educational researchers feel are often very subtle. Rarely did a respondent tell me he or she had been told outright not to pursue a particular project. Instead, the pressures they described ranged from a raised eyebrow from a colleague to the awareness of one professor that his salary relative to his colleagues' had gone down since he began doing work in what he perceives as an unpopular area. In essence, these researchers need to be "on the lookout" for the expectations of their colleagues and administrators, because – no matter how important to the success of an assistant professor's bid for tenure – they are often not made explicit.

In particular, educational researchers who enter the academy with ideas that do not readily fit into established paradigms have an onerous task. In a sense, they are expected to bring about the "crisis" that Thomas Kuhn (1970) tells us is necessary for scientific thinking to shift. Until they can incite a revolution of sorts, they will be required to push harder and work more intensely than their colleagues who work within accepted boundaries. And despite the inequities that this creates, these data illustrate the extent to which this situation is often taken for granted and understood as common sense by professors at all levels.

If academic freedom is to be understood as these researchers conceive of it – as the right to research and teach topics of their own choosing – then this should include areas and frameworks that may challenge the status quo or push us to see things in ways we haven't been able to before. While tenured faculty may be able to do this with little (or manageable) repercussions, non-tenured faculty do not enjoy the same privilege. Instead, they are told through the mentoring process, the publishing process, and the funding process that their work must speak a particular language and rely upon particular frameworks. This is even more pronounced among faculty of color and faculty whose work extends beyond the dominant paradigm.[11]

And while faculty learn the limitations that they face, they are also being socialized into their profession. They are continually developing as researchers and, as such, their experiences shape who they will become. This inevitably leads to the question: if researchers who have more

progressive or radical ideas than their more senior counterparts are not encouraged to pursue these topics early in their careers, will they return to them once they have "earned" a more autonomous professional space? Once they possess the autonomy of a tenured professor, will they return to their strong agendas and their idealized purposes?

It should not be inferred, however, that these problems with the tenure process are sufficient to argue for a dissolution of the policy itself. Indeed, the researchers who participated were often adamant about the importance of tenure to academic freedom and autonomy. It is certainly reasonable to argue that if researchers are to feel free to pursue any potential topic, that they must not be afraid of losing their jobs. But at the same time, this policy that protects them must not create other constraints. Therefore, the process of tenure – as separate from but integral to the policy of tenure – must be reconsidered in this light.

In addition to these policy considerations, this research brings to light the need for additional research in several key areas. Specifically, future research needs to focus more heavily on the incredible diversity of the academic research experience, not only in terms of personal identity (gender, race, ethnicity, etc.), but also institutional identity. In other words, this work needs to be expanded beyond departments of education to encompass the full breadth of disciplines that comprise the university. Moreover, different institutional types should be investigated to understand how these issues may play out differently at colleges and universities with different missions and varying levels of resources and prestige.

We must also more clearly understand the relevance of these issues for faculty members of color and female faculty members. Prior research has shown that these professors in particular face undue constraint as they conduct their work. (See, for example, Glazer-Raymo, 1999 and Padilla & Chavez, 1995.) This study indicates a similar trend, but the sample sizes are too small to allow for strong conclusions to be drawn. For example, it is not possible to determine whether the added constraints that many faculty of color describe are a result of their identities, of the work that they do, or of the organizations they are part of. Most likely, it is a complex weaving of all three which cannot be understood without additional research that pays careful attention to the ways in which academic power is manifested in personal identity factors.

All of this research would be best undertaken in the context of longitudinal projects that can account for the ever-changing nature of the academic endeavor. Future work should focus on the changes that individuals undergo as they navigate through the tenure process.

The boundaries between the university and its external environment are becoming increasingly permeable. If ever there was a purely isolated, unhindered researcher, he most certainly has begun to feel the pressures of politics, economics, and social needs. As faculty members are being held increasingly accountable for their work and are placed under greater scrutiny to justify their tenured positions, the autonomous, agenda-driven researcher seems next to impossible.

The movement away from tenure-track positions to increasing numbers of part-time and adjunct positions may also strengthen the trends to which this typology already points. As fewer and fewer tenure-track jobs become available, assistant professors may feel more pressure than ever to jump through particular hoops and meet certain expectations in order to ensure that they are able to keep their jobs. Those with ideas that fall "outside of the box" may not be able to find the situations or space they need to pursue their ideas within the university.

There are problems in our schools and in society that are so entrenched and so profound, they scream out for new ways of understanding. Researchers with different or novel approaches to understanding and addressing them need to be recognized as competent and as having an important perspective to contribute. To whatever extent the biases of history and tradition can be limited as newer faculty bring their fresh ways of thinking into the academy, their contributions will be increased enormously.

A more comprehensive understanding of academic freedom, one that takes a wider array of constraints and pressures into account, would protect those researchers whose ideas fall outside of the traditional box from the pressures that weigh them down. As the university, out of necessity, moves toward a heavier emphasis on finance, efficiency, and process, it is often at the expense of inquiry and understanding. As such, we run the risk of creating a generation of scholars who may be brilliant of mind, but too afraid to move in any direction other than straight ahead. Instead, we should be working hard toward the nurturing of young scholars who possess not only passion and empathy but also freedom.

ENDNOTES

[1] For brevity's sake, the terms "department," "school," and "program" are used interchangeably.

[2] Because of the relatively small sample size and to ensure anonymity, faculty members of color are not identified by specific ethnicity or race. The category "non-white" includes faculty members who identified themselves as Chicano, Latino/a, African American, Asian, and Filipino.

[3] Although included in the sample, emeriti professors are not included in the official statistics of either department. Emeriti professors were contacted only if they were still active in their departments at the time of the study (i.e., they had offices or, at the very least, telephone numbers or e-mail addresses). A total of five emeriti professors were contacted at Stanford (all men), and nine were contacted at UCLA (seven men, two women).

[4] Refers to amount of time passed since earning a doctorate and receiving tenure; no data were collected on the actual ages of respondents.

[5] This figure represents the years since receiving tenure for the first time. Several respondents at Stanford had been awarded tenure more than once as a result of switching institutions.

[6] It is important to point out that the interview findings described here do not fully represent the respondents' ideas about what goes into the creation of a research agenda. For a full discussion of these factors, the reader is referred to McClafferty (1999). Because of space limitations, only those findings that are directly relevant to the development of the ideal typology are described here.

[7] Because practice and motivation for that practice are so closely connected, these terms are used interchangeably in this paper. Similarly, constraint and control are used interchangeably as well.

[8] It is important to note that, while these types may offer contrasts to one another, they should not be seen as dichotomous. More specifically, field-driven should not be seen as the opposite of agenda-driven, and no value

judgment should be assumed about either ideal type. This same qualification applies to the ideal types of constraint that follow.

[9] "He" and "she" are used alternately to describe these ideal types. Although later sections do address the issue of whether men or women are more likely to be described by any particular type, the use of a particular pronoun here should not be taken to indicate such tendencies. A single pronoun (rather than "he/she," for example) is used simply for the sake of clarity in writing.

[10] It is critical to mention again, however, that this is a study of perceptions. The questions were designed to elicit an understanding of how these researchers perceive their autonomous space. As such, it is not possible to determine the extent to which Stanford faculty members guide their fields versus the extent to which they are guided by their fields. The important relationship that can be discerned from this data is that often, as a researcher gains prestige and power, the character of the field and the character of the researcher become more closely connected.

[11] While it is tempting to make assumptions which bring the particular challenges of faculty of color and women to the forefront, without a larger sample it is simply not possible to know the extent or prevalence of these trends.

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APPENDIX I:
FACULTY INTERVIEW GUIDE

Background

1. How would you describe your research?
   - Probe specifically for: general topic; qualitative/quantitative; source(s) of funding; source(s) of data; intended beneficiaries; etc.
   - How did you select your research agenda?
   - Does your general topic have personal significance to you?

Personal Experiences with Constraint and Resistance

2. How much autonomy do you feel you have in selecting the topics you research?
   - Have you felt any pressure to move your research in one direction or another?
     - Where have those pressures come from?
   - Do you feel that this autonomy has changed for you in the last several years?
   - Is this the amount of autonomy you expected to have before you began your career?
3. What, if anything, constrains you from doing your work?

4. ***If not already addressed:*** Are there any more personal/individual issues or factors which you believe have influenced the direction of your research?
   - What aspects of your personal identity or what affiliations or political commitments do you believe have an impact?
     - Probe for gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, professional rank, etc.

5. ***If not already addressed:*** How closely does your current research agenda resemble the research you expected/planned to do when you began your career?
   - *If different:* What caused that change? How do you feel about that change?
   - *If similar:* Has it been difficult at all to maintain the same direction?
6. How do you make decisions about what your research will address?
   - What factors do you keep in mind when making these decisions?
     - If not raised already, ask specifically about attention to funders' needs/desires, administrative goals, etc.

Changes in the University/Environment

7. What changes – if any – have you seen in recent years, vis-à-vis your department?
   - What changes have you seen in the university as a whole?
     - Probe for: Changes in Priorities, Funding, Staffing, Goals.

The University in Society

8. What do you believe the priorities of the university (as a whole) should be at this moment?
9. How well do you think your department is living up to what you just described?
10. ***If not already addressed***: What do you perceive as the social obligation of the university? Do you think this sense of obligation is changing?
    - How?
    - Why? (Or why not?)
    - How do you see your work fitting into this obligation?
11. Is the obligation different for public and private universities?

Academic Freedom

12. How do you define academic freedo
13. Have you ever had an instance where you felt your academic freedom was threatened?
14. Do you think tenure is necessary in order to ensure academic freedom?
15. Is there anything else that we haven't already discussed that you think comes into play when you make decisions about your research agenda?